

Chapter 1

Planning for Emergency Response

Within weeks of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, as U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia reinforced Operation DESERT SHIELD, some U.S. and Kuwaiti officials were already turning their attention to the period after Kuwait's liberation. They recognized early that careful planning would be crucial to the recovery of that nation and the restoration of its government. Although the United States had a long history of providing humanitarian assistance to other countries, this situation was unique: Kuwait had many well-educated, qualified individuals to direct the effort and the financial resources to pay for what it needed and wanted. Although U.S. military leaders were initially reluctant to take on major responsibility for the Kuwait recovery effort, they ultimately recognized that the Department of Defense was the only agency that could provide the level of assistance that the Kuwaitis required. Army civil affairs personnel and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, in particular, provided the Kuwaitis with invaluable assistance in planning the emergency response effort and helping ensure its success.

Origins of the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program

The Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah, who was in the United States to appear before the United Nations General Assembly, traveled to Washington, D.C. on 27 September 1990 to visit President George Bush. During a series of meetings with the President and his advisors, the Emir and his Minister of Foreign Affairs asked the United States to help their government plan for the reconstruction and recovery of Kuwait. (*Map 1*) Some of the ministers also talked to the newly designated U.S. Ambassador to Kuwait, Edward W. "Skip" Gnehm, Jr. (a well-respected and experienced diplomat who was in Washington awaiting



MAP 1

confirmation), about getting assistance from the U.S. government. Kuwaiti officials realized all that the United States had done to restore occupied Germany after World War II. They believed that the United States was probably the only country in the modern world that ever helped put a devastated, occupied country back on its feet.

Kuwait's Minister of Foreign Affairs asked his traveling companions, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Planning, to bring a group of senior Kuwaiti officials back to Washington the following week. He wanted them to attend a briefing at the Pentagon on the U.S. Department of Defense's capabilities to respond, specifically its civil affairs capability.¹

Meanwhile, exiled Kuwaiti officials who had set up operations in the Sheraton Hotel in Taif, Saudi Arabia, 40 miles southeast of Mecca, gathered to plan the reconstruction of their nation. They dispatched a team of 20 specialists to Washington to plan for the emergency response after Kuwait was liberated and to enlist U.S. government assistance in the planning. The mix of Kuwaiti planners, oil officials, and health care experts set up operations in 24 glass-paneled offices on K Street in northwest Washington, five blocks from the White House. This group, called the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program, was headed by Fawzi Al-Sultan, Kuwait's dynamic representative to the World Bank. He was anxious to enlist partners from the U.S. government as quickly as possible.

Most of the Kuwaiti representatives were English-speaking, U.S.-educated government officials. Fawzi Al-Sultan himself attended Yale University. Another team member, Bader Al-Qabandi, who had been the deputy chief engineer of the Ministry of Public Works, graduated from Arizona State University and had a master's degree in civil engineering from the University of California, Los Angeles. He had been directly involved in designing and constructing all the hospitals in Kuwait, as well as schools, ports, and airports. Bader Al-Qabandi and other Ministry of Public Works personnel each had 15 to 20 years of experience in their fields.

By the end of December, the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program would grow to 40 members with a broad range of expertise, working long hours, seven days a week. Although very capable, Bader Al-Qabandi observed, these leaders had been stunned by news of the invasion and sometimes felt disoriented and overwhelmed. They worried constantly about family members left behind, some of whom had been arrested by the Iraqis.²

The Kuwait Emergency Response Program quickly organized itself into 10 teams or work groups: communication, transportation, education, health and food, airports and ports, electricity and water, oil, public works, information, and the legal and political system. Members

focused on the damage the Iraqis might leave behind. They compiled information on which buildings the Iraqis were using, the condition of the roads, the status of the sanitation and electrical systems, and the amount of material stolen from the hospitals. They used this information, collected from Kuwaitis who had remained behind and from other sources, to plan the reconstruction.

The Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program then coordinated with federal officials and American businessmen to replace the infrastructure and equipment that the Iraqis had destroyed such as sewer pipes, lamp posts, telephone lines, public buses, and police cars. The Kuwaiti planners assumed that Kuwait would be left without power and water after the Iraqis retreated. They projected that even if the Iraqis left peacefully, the restoration of services could take up to two years. They developed computerized lists of potential suppliers and contractors interested in contributing to the recovery program.³

The huge cost, estimated from \$80 billion to \$100 billion, would be paid from Kuwait's extensive investment portfolio. The Kuwaiti government had large accounts in foreign banks to fund the recovery effort. According to *Time* magazine, Kuwait's foreign-asset portfolio approached \$100 billion, invested in stocks, bonds, and entire companies around the world. Its investments reportedly brought in \$20 million a day.⁴

The Pentagon Response

Although the Kuwaiti representatives had considerable business acumen, they had no experience responding to natural disasters or other catastrophes and were uncertain how to proceed. Kuwaiti officials quickly realized that they would need assistance from the United States.

In late September, the Kuwaitis discovered the civil affairs capability in the U.S. Army. The link might have occurred, in part, through the initiative of an Army Reserve colonel—Randall Elliott. As a civilian, Elliott, a career foreign service officer, headed the State Department's Middle East Division. As a reservist, he served as the deputy chief of staff, Capstone Operations (G-5), for the 352d Civil Affairs Command. Recognizing that the Kuwaiti element needed some planning assistance, Elliott raised the issue with State Department officials, including Ambassador designate Gnehm. Gnehm discussed the matter with Kuwaiti Ambassador Saud Nasir Al-Sabah and the Kuwaiti delegation, who were immediately receptive to the idea of using civil affairs personnel. Some members of the Army Staff—such as Anthony J. Auletta and Col. Allen W. Keener with the Operations, Readiness and Mobilization

Directorate, who were very familiar with the Army's civil affairs capability—might have already been considering a possible civil affairs role.

Ambassador Gnehm asked Pentagon officials to tell the Kuwaiti representatives about the military's civil affairs capabilities. Having served in the Pentagon just two years earlier as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Gnehm knew some key Pentagon officials and understood the procedures for inserting such a request into the military system. The State Department passed the request to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Henry S. Rowen. Rowen, a tall, lean man, professional in bearing, had held a number of senior government posts and academic positions. He had come to the Pentagon from the Stanford University Graduate School of Business. Fortunately Rowen and Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict James R. Locher III, men of vision and action, overrode the Army Staff's tepid response and arranged a briefing for the Kuwaitis.⁵

On 3 October, Rowen asked the Director of the Joint Staff, Lt. Gen. Michael P. C. Carns, to arrange a briefing on civil affairs capabilities for the Kuwaitis. Lt. Col. Dennis C. Barlow from the Psychological Operations/Civil Affairs Branch of the Directorate for Current Operations (J-33) of the Joint Staff delivered the briefing the next day. Barlow had invited Army officials to present the briefing because the Army acted as the executive agent for civil affairs on the Joint Staff, but they declined. In attendance were Fawzi Al-Sultan, Minister of Planning Sulayman Abdul Razaq Al-Mutawa, Minister of Finance Sheikh Ali Al-Khalifa Al-Sabah, Ambassador Gnehm, and the Joint Staff Director of Operations (J-3) Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Kelly, along with representatives from the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, the General Counsel, and the Army Staff.

The Kuwaiti representatives apparently liked what they heard. After the briefing, they inquired about the proper procedures for requesting assistance from Army civil affairs. Sam Routson, director of mission activities for the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, suggested that they submit a formal request to President Bush.⁶ In a letter dated 9 October 1990, Ambassador Al-Sabah formally requested U.S. assistance in the restoration of Kuwait. Specifically, he asked for expertise resident in the U.S. Department of Defense.⁷ Although Secretary of State James A. Baker III did not formally respond to the letter until mid-December, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near East and South Asian Affairs received verbal confirmation from the White House staff that President Bush would support the effort.⁸

Meanwhile, plans to assist the Kuwaitis continued to unfold. General Carns wrote back to Assistant Secretary Rowen that the Joint Staff agreed with the idea of providing advice to the Kuwaiti government. Representatives of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, the Joint Staff Director for Operations (J-3), the Joint Staff Director of Strategic Plans and Policy (J-5), and the Army Staff met three times during the week after the 4 October briefing to discuss a response to the Kuwaiti request.⁹ The Joint Staff and Army Staff continued to discuss the Kuwaiti request for weeks.

The Directorate of Strategic Plans and Policy was instructed to develop a course of action for a Department of Defense response to the Kuwaiti request. On 17 October, the directorate's Middle Eastern Affairs Division hosted a meeting with representatives from International Security Affairs, Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, the Army Staff, and the State Department. Participants agreed that if the State Department specifically requested civil affairs support, the Joint Staff would develop guidelines for using Defense Department resources. They discussed the relationship between the Defense and State departments, which agency should take the lead within the Defense Department, and what agreements should be made with the Kuwaiti government.

Two days later, a committee of the President's National Security Council, consisting of the deputy secretaries of selected cabinet departments, met to consider the Kuwaiti request. The committee members agreed that the United States would assist Kuwait in its planning. To make the process more timely and efficient, they recommended that the State Department and the Defense Department, including the Joint Staff, establish a steering committee to make the necessary arrangements. They also recommended that the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs take the lead for the Defense Department.

Rowen's staff prepared a draft "Terms of Reference for U.S. Civil Affairs Assistance to the State of Kuwait" and submitted it to the Joint Staff for review. Rowen also asked that a military service be designated the executive agent for the operations and that qualified personnel be assigned to the various working committees outlined in the draft.

The draft specified that the goal of the United States would be to help the legitimate government of Kuwait plan the post-liberation restoration efforts. Although the proposed terms of reference provided for the involvement of a number of federal agencies, the State Department and the Defense Department would have the primary responsibility for developing the restoration program.

The draft also proposed the creation of a U.S. steering group committee, chaired by the State Department, with representatives from the State Department and the Defense Department to oversee the planning effort. It also provided for the formation of a U.S.–Kuwaiti Committee on Emergency and Recovery Programs, consisting of the U.S. steering group committee and Kuwaiti government officials in exile. Working groups would undertake planning in 20 traditional civil affairs functional areas. (Table 1)

TABLE 1—CIVIL AFFAIRS FUNCTIONAL AREAS

Arts and Monuments	Property Control
Civil Defense	Public Administration
Civil Information	Public Communications
Civilian Supply	Public Education
Cultural Affairs	Public Finance
Dislocated Civilians	Public Health
Economics and Commerce	Public Safety
Food and Agriculture	Public Welfare
Labor	Public Works and Utilities
Legal	Transportation

The Kuwaiti government would execute all contracts for services and equipment with civilian firms. The U.S. government could request reimbursement for the cost of various services rendered.¹⁰

On 22 October, Assistant Secretary Locher met with representatives from the State Department, Defense General Counsel, Joint Staff, and Army Staff to develop a memorandum of understanding between the U.S. and Kuwaiti governments that would provide for Department of Defense assistance. The State Department agreed to draft the memorandum.¹¹

On 1 November, the deputy secretaries committee of the National Security Council formally created the steering group committee described in the terms of reference to ensure that Kuwait received assistance and to coordinate State Department and Defense Department efforts. (Chart 1) The steering group committee consisted of Ambassador Gnehm; Arthur H. Hughes, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (or his alternate Frederick C. Smith); Rear Adm. J. R. Fitzgerald, Deputy Director for Current Operations (J-33); Rear Adm. Merrill W. Ruck, Assistant Deputy Director of Politico–Military Affairs (J-5); and Brig. Gen. Charles E. Wilhelm, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Missions and Applications. On 2 November, they met for the first time to review the proposed terms of reference and sent the draft forward for final approval.¹²

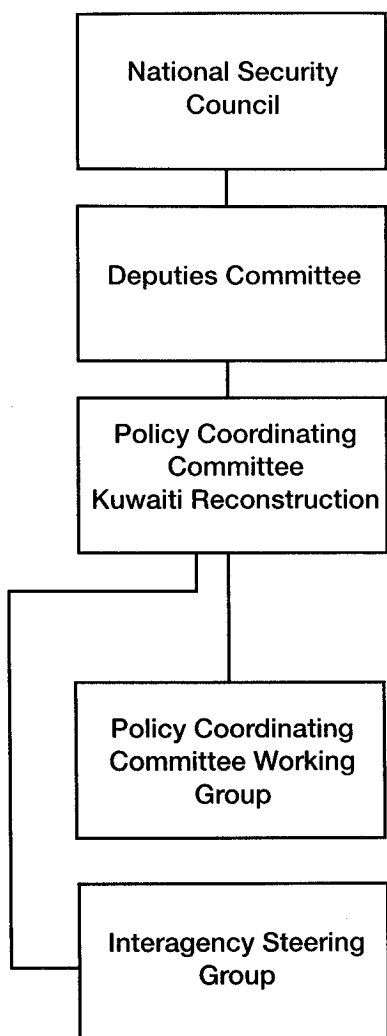


Chart 1—National Security Council

The draft circulated throughout the Defense Department in early November. The responses reflected different opinions on the required level of civil affairs support and the appropriate mechanism for managing the effort. Final comments on the terms of reference contained a matrix that showed responsibilities split among 27 different U.S. government agencies. The comments also reflected a growing sense that some civil affairs support would be needed.

Rowen approved the terms of reference on 5 November, and working groups were established under the steering group committee to oversee the execution of the project. A U.S.–Kuwaiti civil affairs working group consisted of representatives from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, and the Army Staff and Kuwaiti officials.¹³ Frederick Smith assumed the day-to-day leadership of the working group.

Ambassador Gnehm took the lead for the State Department and attended many Pentagon briefings. He later recounted that there were some awkward moments when the Defense Department lawyers questioned whether the committee's activities violated existing regulations. The

Joint Staff posed many questions about the number of people to be called up and the length of service. The constant "bureaucratic tussle," he observed, continued throughout January and February.

Gnehm envisioned civil affairs soldiers moving into Kuwait alongside the exiled Kuwaitis to run a command center for civil–military operations. The Ambassador denied having any desire to control the civil affairs group but insisted that these soldiers be colocated with him and work beside him. Gnehm knew that he would be working closely with Kuwaiti government officials and that they would issue the taskings and requirements. The relationship between the State Department and the Defense Department would improve over time as

the day-to-day activities further delineated the responsibilities between the two agencies.¹⁴

While the terms of reference circulated, the Joint Staff had drafted a message directing the Army Staff to create a task force of civil affairs and other qualified personnel to assist Kuwait in the 20 designated functional areas. General Kelly approved the basic concept for using civil affairs soldiers, but the activation of a Reserve unit required final approval from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and coordination with the Office of the Secretary of Defense. When the message circulated within the Joint Staff, some members questioned whether assisting the Kuwaiti government was more appropriately a role for the State Department. They decided to delay activating a civil affairs unit.¹⁵

Civil affairs units originated during World War II to meet the need for military personnel with the appropriate education and training to administer areas liberated from German and Japanese occupation and to govern areas in Germany and Japan occupied by the U.S. Army during and after the war. In the decade after the war, the mission of these newly formed units, now called civil affairs units, became less obvious. Most civil affairs capability was placed in the Army Reserve.

In the 1960s, as interest in counterinsurgency grew, the value of the special skills and abilities of civil affairs soldiers to improve the living conditions of local populations became more apparent. During the Vietnam War, the Army relied heavily on civil affairs methods to counter the Viet Cong. After the war, units were focused primarily on the support of conventional operations in a European battlefield. But civil affairs became a low priority within the Army. In 1987, the Secretary of the Army decided to include civil affairs units in special operations forces.

Civil affairs units typically conduct missions for theater commanders in support of U.S. nation-building activities, regional planning, and intelligence collection. They provide civil assistance to local populations and help host nations maintain stable, viable civil governments. They support tactical commanders at the corps, division, brigade, or regiment level. They identify local resources, facilities, and support that could be useful to those commanders, minimize civilian interference with U.S. military operations, and act as the staff representative for consideration of civilian and cultural factors that could affect military operations. At the time of the Gulf War, Army civil affairs units included 172 Active and 4,650 Reserve personnel. The force structure at the time consisted of four kinds of civil affairs units: commands, brigades, groups, and companies.¹⁶

The 352d Civil Affairs Command, headquartered in Riverdale, Maryland, was the Reserve unit designated for CENTCOM's area of operations. It had been working with Third U.S. Army and ARCENT since

1982 under the Army's Capstone program, which had been designed to better integrate Reserve components into the Active force by letting them train and plan during peacetime with their designated wartime commands. As an added benefit, members of the 352d Civil Affairs Command could begin work immediately without relocating because their home base was just outside Washington, D.C.

Assistant Secretary Locher maintained that planning for the reconstruction of Kuwait was a doctrinally correct civil affairs mission. As long as the possibility of hostilities as part of the liberation of Kuwait existed, he argued, the Defense Department, and specifically civil affairs, had to be involved in the planning. Locher and his staff saw civil affairs as a medium for bringing the resources of government and private industry to bear on the problem and ensuring that these resources were fully coordinated with military plans. After meeting with Locher, General Carns and Assistant Secretary Rowen agreed to call up the 352d Civil Affairs Command.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the State Department and the Defense Department continued their effort to involve other federal agencies in the mission. Both departments agreed to use civil affairs soldiers initially to assist the Kuwaitis, but after the liberation, when the military's role changed, they wanted to involve other federal agencies. They could not, however, agree on when and how quickly to bring in those other agencies. They focused primarily on the Federal Emergency Management Agency, created in 1972 to coordinate the federal response to national emergencies and natural disasters, and the State Department's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. The Federal Emergency Management Agency, however, only conducted domestic emergency response work. The Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance performed assistance missions outside the United States, but only in developing nations.¹⁸

Because of the general reluctance of Defense Department officials to take on the mission, the Pentagon made little progress between 5 November when Rowen signed the terms of reference and 19 November when the Office of the Secretary of Defense began actively pushing the effort.

During those first weeks in November, senior officials on the Army Staff and the Joint Staff continued to debate the appropriateness of the military providing such assistance to the Kuwaiti government. They also debated whether the Army was the appropriate agency to lead the effort. These officials were reluctant to involve themselves in a long-term non-military project that might divert critical resources from ongoing operations. They believed the State Department was the proper agency to lead the effort.

Pentagon officials, particularly the Army Staff, feared they would be saddled with a mission that could last for months or even years. They recalled that during Operation JUST CAUSE, a military operation to remove Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega from power, the Defense Department had found itself serving as “lead” agency long after the fighting stopped. Pentagon officials did not believe they had ever received adequate support from the State Department and other federal agencies that should have assumed a greater role in restoring basic services in Panama. General Carns and other Pentagon officials wanted to ensure that this time other government offices, particularly the State Department, would participate fully. Army leaders did not want to be left again with the bulk of the responsibility for a recovery operation, especially if problems developed.

In addition, Army leaders emphasized the importance of integrating the civil affairs effort into other Army Staff activities. They favored the creation of a composite task force with representatives from various Army elements (medical, military police, communications, engineers, quartermaster) augmented by civil affairs, with the overall structure commanded by an Active Army general officer.¹⁹

Gnehm and other State Department officials emphasized the important differences between the situations in Panama and Kuwait. Unlike Panama, Kuwait had requested technical expertise and was willing to pay for it. Moreover, the U.S. government needed to support the effort because restoring the legitimate government had important political implications.

Pentagon officials reluctantly acknowledged the importance of the mission. Assistant Secretary Locher and others argued that no other agency could handle the emergency phase. The Executive Branch could not mobilize other government agencies in the early period when hostilities were still underway. The Assistant Secretaries of Defense for International Security Affairs, Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, and Reserve Affairs continued to push for the use of Army civil affairs assets.²⁰

Formation of the Kuwait Task Force

The 352d Civil Affairs Command had been preparing for its Capstone role in support of ARCENT since 2 August. Brig. Gen. Howard Mooney, a high school administrator who had assumed command in May 1989, had placed 15 soldiers on voluntary active duty to coordinate civil affairs issues with his higher headquarters, the U.S. Army Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

On 1 November, the Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command notified the 352d and some of its subordinate units that they might be called up to support Operation DESERT SHIELD. After a series of alert orders and cancellations, Mooney's superiors, on 15 November, informed him that part of his unit would be activated. On 17 November, the chief of staff for the Army Special Operations Command indicated that the unit was on alert, but the next day the Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command canceled the alert order.

On 19 November, the commander of the Special Operations Command, Lt. Gen. Michael F. Spigelmire, and the commander of the Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command, Brig. Gen. Joseph C. Hurteau, arrived at the 352d's headquarters to follow up on the Defense Department initiative to activate that command. During the hour-long meeting, General Mooney and his staff outlined their concept of civil affairs operations for the theater. General Spigelmire wanted assurance that the command could find individuals with the qualifications the Kuwaitis requested. After gathering the information they needed, the two men departed. Spigelmire's staff awakened Mooney at 4 A.M. the next morning with the news that part of his unit had once again been activated.²¹

When the matter of the activation finally reached General Carns, he again insisted that assisting the Kuwaiti government was more appropriately a role for the State Department. He directed his staff to cancel the alert of the 352d Civil Affairs Command. Hearing this, General Wilhelm armed Assistant Secretary Locher with background information for a meeting with General Carns. That evening Locher convinced General Carns and Rowen that this was a doctrinally correct civil affairs mission. They agreed to restore the call up of the 352d.

On 21 November, General Carns reluctantly approved the formation of a task force made up of civil affairs soldiers. The next day, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell sent a message to the Chief of Staff of the Army and to General Spigelmire requesting that the Chief of Staff activate elements of the 352d Civil Affairs Command designated as the 352d Civil Affairs Command HHC (Augmented), a derivative unit. This small unit would be called the Kuwait Task Force.²² Later that day, General Hurteau informed General Mooney that 50 or 60 of his soldiers would be called up. Unfortunately, by this time the on-again, off-again alerts had caused considerable confusion within the unit.

At a working group committee meeting on 26 November 1991, Frederick Smith, General Mooney, General Wilhelm, and other participants discussed who would command the civil affairs soldiers. Two days later, Mooney briefed the committee on his unit's capabilities, and

Pentagon officials at the meeting established guidelines for the proposed Kuwait Task Force.²³

The official notification to mobilize 57 civil affairs soldiers came on 29 November. On 1 December, the reservists, who had been selected from the 352d Civil Affairs Command and the 354th Civil Affairs Brigade, gathered at the Army Reserve Center in Riverdale and drove to nearby Fort Meade, Maryland, for processing. The same day, General Mooney and Colonel Elliott visited the Director of Civil Works, Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Kelly, at the Corps of Engineers headquarters in Washington to enlist the Corps' help in locating office space for the task force.²⁴

General Mooney was activated along with his command on 1 December, but two days later General Hurteau informed him that the Army Staff had disapproved his activation. The reason for the reversal is unclear. Officials on the Army Staff might have been upset that Mooney had been called up without advanced approval from the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Carl E. Vuono. General Schwarzkopf had not been informed about Mooney's activation either. Another factor might have been the Army's characteristic reluctance to activate Army Reserve generals.²⁵

Although General Mooney was directed to remain at the 352d headquarters, he retained an active interest in the task force's activities and provided guidance. Colonel Elliott was placed in charge of the task force. Elliott's extensive experience with the State Department and the Middle East proved valuable. Yet the failure to activate Mooney would create significant problems for the task force. Without a general officer, the task force would have greater difficulty coordinating with ARCENT and CENTCOM.²⁶

On 3 December, Mooney and members of the newly formed Kuwait Task Force traveled to the Pentagon to receive briefings from Frederick Smith, Capt. Pete Bolton, Admiral Ruck, and other members of the Joint Staff. No Army Staff representatives attended, perhaps another indicator of the Army's reluctance to take on the mission. Later that afternoon, the task force crossed the Potomac River to meet with their Kuwaiti counterparts on K Street.²⁷ The task force members quickly set up operations in leased office space that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had located three blocks from the Kuwaiti headquarters. They acquired furniture from a General Services Administration facility in Alexandria, Virginia. By 5 December, they had attended all the requisite briefings, met their Kuwaiti counterparts, gathered the resources they needed, and were hard at work.²⁸

The creation of the Kuwait Task Force caused some friction between the 352d members who were selected and those who were not. Given the origins and circumstances of the task force, some of its members might have felt closer ties to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs than to their parent unit.

The relationship between the task force and the Army Staff was also strained. "A lot of people did not want us [the Kuwait Task Force] to exist," Elliott's deputy, Col. C. H. Sadek, observed.²⁹ Army officials were concerned that task force members came from high-level civilian jobs and had direct access to powerful senior leadership in Washington. Also, at the request of their Kuwaiti counterparts, who did not want to see American soldiers in uniform in their K Street headquarters, the reservists sometimes wore civilian clothes. Mooney briefed the Director of Operations, Readiness and Mobilization, Maj. Gen. Glynn C. Mallory, Jr., about the task force's missions and activities, but some on the Army Staff continue to believe that the task force was an elite group. Mooney observed that there was a perception that reservists brought added complications to the mobilization effort. He also candidly noted that some of the task force members had an elitist attitude that contributed to the friction. At least one task force member confirmed this perception, conceding that his group might have been somewhat "prideful." He maintained that the friction would impede the mission once the 352d Civil Affairs Command arrived in Saudi Arabia. The friction continued until the task force proved its worth.³⁰

Army leaders worried that no clear lines of authority existed for the Kuwait Task Force. It was created as a planning staff, without an operational function. CENTCOM was not its parent organization. Rather, it took its directions from the steering group committee and the working group, which met often to monitor the task force's progress and provide guidance. Task force members gave weekly briefings on their activities to the steering group committee, which was responsible for sharing information with the Army Staff. It evaluated the plans that the task force developed and shared them with the State Department and the Ambassador, who approved the plans and made decisions about implementation. The Army Staff criticized the task force for not sharing information, but the task force members maintained that the steering group committee, not the task force, was responsible for sharing the information.³¹

The friction reflected two opposing perspectives on the role of civil affairs. Historically, civil affairs soldiers have coordinated closely with the State Department. They occasionally dressed in civilian attire and physically located themselves with the State Department. In the 1980s, however, a new perspective evolved. Military leaders began to argue that civil affairs units were part of the military structure and should be treated as such. Civil affairs soldiers, they insisted, should dress in uniforms, be physically located with Army units, and take their direction through the military chain of command.

Colonel Elliott and some of the Kuwait Task Force members upheld the traditional view. They believed they should collocate with

Ambassador Gnehm and the Kuwaitis and work as part of the Ambassador's staff. Some on the Army Staff and other task force members, however, believed the task force should remain within the military chain of command.

The message that activated the task force had directed that it work in support of and report to the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs. Yet Anthony Auletta speculated that members of the International Security Affairs staff did not fully recognize their responsibility to exercise control over the task force. The task force members, he observed, ended up working too much in isolation, either because Army Staff elements did not accept them or because they wanted it that way. Moreover, Auletta added, the task force did not have an Active Army general officer in charge who could coordinate with the Army Staff.

Because of the Army's obvious reluctance to use civil affairs reservists, the Secretary of Defense staff initially decided not to designate the Army as the executive agent for the operation, as would normally have been the case. They did not believe the Army would vigorously execute the operation. Auletta indicated that if the Army had been the executive agent, there would have been a smoother process and greater supervision of the task force. The Army Staff, Auletta noted, could have provided invaluable support to the task force's activities. Also, as the executive agent, the Army Staff would have become more involved in directing the recovery operation. The Army's operations and mobilization directorate provided office space, furniture, and computer equipment, but the reservists functioned as an extension of the International Security Assistance Middle East office.³² The Secretary of Defense did not designate the Army as the executive agent for the Kuwait recovery mission until 30 April 1991, after the recovery work had already begun.

Kuwait Task Force Activities

The Kuwait Task Force helped the Kuwaitis understand and coordinate with various federal agencies. The reservists immediately organized a series of training briefings and visits. Arthur Walz, who as a civilian worked for the Army Corps of Engineers, arranged for Corps representatives to talk to the Kuwaitis about rebuilding infrastructure. Corps representatives also presented a two-hour disaster management class. Walz also arranged for the Federal Emergency Management Agency to give a two-day seminar on disaster response. The Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance gave the Kuwaitis a tour and a class.³³ Since no one could predict the level of fighting and destruction, the reservists developed plans

for varying degrees of conflict. Initially, they based their plans on the belief that Saddam Hussein would leave Kuwait voluntarily on 15 January 1991 in accordance with the United Nations' provisions and that few repairs would be needed. But as the deadline approached, intelligence sources indicated that the Iraqi dictator would not leave voluntarily and military actions probably would be required, so the planning scenario shifted from best case (minor damage) to worst case (great devastation). Planning for the worst case left the task force better prepared to handle the shortages it eventually found in Kuwait, especially in food, medical supplies, and water. Mooney directed the reservists to convince the Kuwaitis to stockpile large amounts of those supplies.³⁴

The Kuwaitis emphasized seven areas in their early planning: public safety, public health, public works and utilities, transportation, public administration, public communication, and public welfare. In response, the Kuwait Task Force organized itself into five teams that together covered the 20 civil affairs functional areas.³⁵ (Table 2) The activities of the five teams sometimes overlapped.

TABLE 2—KUWAIT TASK FORCE TEAMS

Public Security and Safety	Public Services
Legal	Public Administration
Public Safety	Arts and Monuments
Property Control	Civil Information
Civil Defense	Cultural Affairs
Human Services	Public Communications
Public Health	Commerce
Public Education	Labor
Dislocated Civilians	Public Finance
Infrastructure	Food and Agriculture
Public Works and Utilities	Civilian Supply
Transportation	Economics and Commerce
	Public Welfare

Initially the task force consisted of 56 people—a command management element with 3 and a planning element with 7 plus the five teams: public security and safety with 7, human services with 9, infrastructure with 8, public services with 10, and commerce with 12.

Most of the people were identified through a computerized "Civilian Skills Data Base" that the 352d Civil Affairs Command had developed after Operation JUST CAUSE. The compilation listed each member of the command, along with individual skills, work experi-

ence, and even hobbies. It allowed planners to search for specific civilian skills to complement the military skills of the civil affairs personnel. Planners used the database to identify many potential task force members.

As task force members became more involved in the planning, they found that the Kuwaitis needed help in additional functional areas. If no 352d members had that particular expertise, Mooney requested it from the Special Operations Command. For example, the task force needed military police, psychological operations experts, and medical personnel. Using the database, planners identified the appropriate individuals within the Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command and then transferred them to the 352d. They arrived in Riverdale on 20 January, in time to deploy with the main force. The task force also had to bring in additional skills not originally planned for, including explosive ordnance disposal specialists and a petroleum engineer (to deal with the oil fires).³⁶

Some team members such as Maj. Tom Wilson, a vice president with Hunt Oil in civilian life, brought a wealth of experience. Maj. George Thomas specialized in international banking, a specialty rarely found in the military, and had helped restore the Panamanian financial system after Operation JUST CAUSE. Having someone who could deal with such questions as how to print a new currency proved very helpful.³⁷

As part of the planning effort, task force members helped their Kuwaiti partners contract for the supplies and services they would need after their country was liberated. The Kuwaitis were knowledgeable about contracting and had already initiated a few contracts on their own. The task force immediately joined the contracting process.

When the Kuwaiti government identified a need, various U.S. government agencies provided the task force with the names of potential U.S. contractors, and the reservists presented the list to their Kuwaiti counterparts. The task force helped the Kuwaitis review the bids that the firms submitted, but the Kuwaitis made the final decisions about contract awards. The reservists helped the Kuwaitis define the requirements and locate contractors and also provided advice about contracts. Legal restrictions prohibited them from participating in any contract negotiations or arranging meetings between the Kuwaitis and interested contractors. It was clear from the beginning that the Kuwaitis would sign and pay for all contracts, not the Kuwait Task Force. Task force members had no authority to sign contracts or obligate U.S. or Kuwaiti funds.³⁸

Most of these early contracts were for food, water, medical supplies, power generation, emergency communications, uniforms, and vehicles. The U.S. Treasury Department agreed to release part of the Kuwaiti government's assets to pay for the contracts. The U.S. government had

frozen all of Kuwait's assets when Iraq entered the country to prevent Iraq from appropriating them.

The effort to contract for the emergency items proceeded slowly. Kuwaiti officials tended to delay contract awards. Some speculated that the Kuwaitis did not fully comprehend the urgency of the situation. In one glaring example, despite urging from the task force, the Kuwaitis failed to hire any oil firefighters until late February, after Iraq had blown or set fire to hundreds of Kuwait's oil wells. The Kuwaitis were concerned about the \$22,000 per-team per-day cost and were only willing to pay \$20,000. The difference amounted to about \$16,000 a day. Yet they were losing millions of barrels of oil a day. Elliott demonstrated that they would lose close to \$1 billion over 30 days. By the time they finally signed contracts with the firefighting companies, the Kuwaitis were in the worst possible bargaining position. Having a firm on retainer would have allowed firefighters to move into Kuwait much sooner than they did, since firms needed a six-week lead time to move in heavy equipment to support their operations. The Kuwaitis ultimately had to airlift firefighting equipment, which increased their costs. Each trip between Houston and Kuwait City cost the Kuwaiti government \$500,000.

Kuwait Emergency Response Program members also delayed signing the contract for truck drivers to deliver water. Moreover, despite urging from task force members, the Kuwaitis made no provision to support the truck drivers logistically.

As with the Israeli air base program, strong cultural influences also affected the contracting process. One Kuwaiti official later explained that for the Kuwaiti representatives forcing a contractor to pay attention to them and reduce his price was more important than the actual dollar savings. The reservists learned to accommodate this way of thinking and, according to Elliott, ultimately established a close relationship with their Kuwaiti partners.³⁹

American relief organizations quickly offered to help with refugee problems, food distribution, and other requirements. Yet the Kuwaitis balked at signing contracts with these organizations and reimbursing them for their services. It was enough, they maintained, to stockpile the provisions. Why did they need an agency such as the Red Cross to handle distribution?

The Kuwaiti representatives in Washington struggled with logistics details. Ambassador Gnehm observed that these planners had difficulty understanding that the U.S. military was not going to take complete responsibility for the recovery operation. Both Gnehm and the Kuwait Task Force tried to persuade them to hire a single contractor as program manager to administer the entire recovery effort. The Kuwaitis knew

they needed help planning and managing the recovery. Initially, they thought of hiring a private firm to perform this function and solicited proposals from some large construction firms such as Brown and Root, Bechtel Group, Inc., and Parsons. Although at one point the Kuwaitis considered hiring Parsons, a construction and engineering firm that had operated in Kuwait for 30 years, they were never comfortable with the concept of having a private company serve as the project manager and ultimately decided not to do so.⁴⁰

By 11 January, just four days before the United Nations' deadline for a peaceful Iraqi withdrawal, Kuwaiti officials had signed only 11 contracts. By 16 January, the Kuwait Task Force had developed over \$30 million in contracts for computer equipment, communications equipment, medical supplies, and other necessities with Motorola, Inc., IBM, Martin Marietta, and other firms. The task force ultimately developed \$528 million in contracts, and 75 percent of that money went back to the U.S. businesses that provided services or commodities.⁴¹

Another part of the task force effort focused on human rights. The reservists recognized, all too well, the potential for massive human rights abuses after liberation. In mid-December their Kuwaiti counterparts began making threatening remarks about Kuwait's Palestinian residents, whom they apparently viewed as Iraqi collaborators. Palestinians made up 25 percent of the prewar population in Kuwait, dominating whole business sectors such as the construction industry, the government bureaucracy, and the legal profession. The Palestinian Liberation Organization had openly supported the Iraqi invasion, and stories of Palestinians colluding with the Iraqis filtered out of the country, much to the distress of Kuwait's representatives in Washington.

Some Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program members indicated that they planned to exact retribution. For example, when Colonel Elliott asked how many people in Kuwait would have to be fed after the liberation, Fatima Al-Sabah, a forceful, outspoken member of the royal family, responded 200,000. Elliott questioned this figure because he had heard that over 500,000 people remained in the city. She informed him that the Palestinians would not have to be fed. Another official quickly explained that the Kuwaiti government planned to deport half of the remaining Palestinians because the Kuwaitis had become too dependent on foreign labor.

After this meeting, the reservists expressed their concerns about treatment of the Palestinians to the Kuwaiti Ambassador. The Ambassador denied that his government was deliberately excluding the Palestinians from its planning for food distribution and assured that all Palestinians would be fed.

The reservists received strong support from Ambassador Gnehm, who was also concerned about the potential for human rights abuses. Early on, the Ambassador had discussions with Kuwaiti officials about the importance of protecting human rights after Kuwait's liberation. He emphatically warned that if the Kuwaitis shot any Palestinian residents U.S. forces would pull out and the international community would conclude that the Kuwaitis were worse than the Iraqis.

Civil Affairs doctrine on preventing human rights abuses was not well developed. Providing water, electricity, food, medical care, and sanitation seemed more immediate. Yet Maj. Andrew Natsios, Director of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance in civilian life; Col. Robert Ward, chief of the politico-military division in the CENTCOM J-5; and other CENTCOM J-5 officers recognized the potential for abuses.

Natsios drafted a phased operations plan based on the kind of behavior expected in the three weeks following liberation. The final plan recommended that during the first 72 hours no residents be allowed to leave their homes, that during the following two weeks (when the bulk of the abuses were anticipated) there be a dusk-to-dawn curfew, and that the military patrol Palestinian neighborhoods. The CENTCOM J-5 staff showed little interest in implementing the recommendations at the time, so Natsios put away the document. The day the ground invasion began, however, Natsios resurrected the plan and presented it to Rear Adm. Grant Sharp, the CENTCOM J-5. At the admiral's request, General Schwarzkopf adopted this plan as commanders guidance for all the coalition forces and asked the Saudi Arabian commander of all the Arab forces to issue the plan as commanders guidance. But the Arab forces did little to implement the plan until the Kuwait Task Force arrived in Kuwait.⁴²

Civil Affairs Operations Plan

Part of the Kuwait Task Force's mission was to prepare a civil affairs annex to ARCENT's operations plan. Members of the 352d had begun drafting annexes to the CENTCOM and ARCENT operations plans after a joint exercise in the summer of 1990 called INTERNAL LOOK. Mooney wanted the task force to develop and execute a plan that would incorporate and elaborate on the Kuwait Emergency Response Program's plan.

Elliott directed Major Natsios to write a civil affairs annex to the operations plans, a reconstruction plan for Kuwait. This plan became Annex G (Civil Action Plan) to the CENTCOM and the ARCENT operations plans. The reservists completed the draft of Annex G in January

and formally presented it to the Kuwaitis before the task force deployed. They also sent copies to CENTCOM and ARCENT.⁴³ The reservists had difficulty gathering all the information they needed for their planning. "We couldn't function properly for lack of relatively simple intelligence," one member complained. CENTCOM planners possessed detailed information about the situation in Kuwait City, such as which buildings had been rigged with explosives, that could have been useful to the task force. The reservists needed to know how many structures remained standing and where. The military intelligence community, except for the military medical intelligence service at Fort Detrick, Maryland, refused to share information even though the reservists had the appropriate security clearances.⁴⁴

The reluctance to share information may have been due to the placement of the task force under the steering group committee's command and control. The task force had no formal relationship with CENTCOM, and Schwarzkopf's staff provided almost no information concerning its plans until members of the 352d arrived in Saudi Arabia to work for the CENTCOM J-5 and the ARCENT G-5 (Plans and Policy Directorate).

CENTCOM's J-5 planning cell in Riyadh apparently made no effort to keep the Kuwait Task Force in Washington informed of its plans for civil-military operations. CENTCOM personnel, in turn, knew nothing about the task force's mission and activities until after Elliott came to Riyadh to brief them. From CENTCOM's perspective, the reservists who worked closely with the Kuwaitis were not authorized access to classified information about the mission. There was much sensitivity about sharing information with the Saudis and Kuwaitis. CENTCOM had, in fact, tried to prevent coalition members from having access to the operations plans being developed for fear that the Arabs might compromise the operation before its execution.

Operational security, combined with the Kuwait Task Force's position outside the CENTCOM and the ARCENT command chains, prevented the degree of coordination needed to prepare an effective plan for employing civil affairs. The CENTCOM J-5 asked the task force to send a representative to Riyadh, but the task force declined. The task force asked CENTCOM to send a representative to Washington, but that made little sense to CENTCOM officials because the plans were being drafted in Riyadh. With little information from ARCENT or CENTCOM in the first months, the reservists relied heavily on information that 352d members who worked in the Defense Intelligence Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency provided.⁴⁵

The Kuwait Task Force had different priorities than ARCENT and CENTCOM had. Task force members focused on the long-term restora-

tion of Kuwait's infrastructure, while ARCENT and CENTCOM planners focused on short-term emergency services. Unfortunately, no one would compare the plans until the task force arrived in Saudi Arabia. At that time, ARCENT and CENTCOM officials found the reservists' early planning efforts inappropriate and of little value. The reservists had developed an elaborate plan that had little relationship to the plans CENTCOM developed in Riyadh. Some officials later speculated that the lack of coordination could have caused serious problems if there had been great loss of life in Kuwait City.⁴⁶

In response to the charge that ARCENT withheld information from the task force, the ARCENT G-5, Col. James T. Kerr, Jr., observed that ARCENT's own staff knew little about the plan for offensive operations until December. Moreover, the staff would have been reluctant to share such sensitive information with the task force. The ARCENT commander, Lt. Gen. John Yeosock, with characteristic bluntness, observed that he saw no need to keep the civil affairs planners in Washington informed about the planning in theater. "Washington had nothing to do with the plan," he insisted. He did, however, believe that the reservists should have been mobilized to Saudi Arabia early on to keep ARCENT informed of their activities.⁴⁷

During the planning process, Kuwait Task Force members presented a series of briefings to the Kuwaiti Ambassador. Ambassador Al-Sabah became convinced that the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program had not prepared adequately or quickly enough for the liberation of Kuwait and the restoration of civil services, so he temporarily discontinued the briefings while he attended to internal problems.⁴⁸

As the director of the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program, Fawzi Al-Sultan reported directly to the Crown Prince and the Emir and was not accountable to Ambassador Al-Sabah. Tensions between those two strong personalities intensified. In mid-December, Fawzi Al-Sultan was called back to Taif to report on his group's progress. Despite his positive report, Kuwaiti officials, who were perhaps concerned that Fawzi Al-Sultan was operating too independently, removed him from his position. They replaced him with the U.S.-educated Dr. Ibrahim Al-Shaheen, a director in Kuwait's National Housing Authority at the time of the invasion. The two men had different personalities and styles. Al-Sultan was an energetic worker who displayed tremendous initiative. Dr. Shaheen, by contrast, was less dynamic and perhaps more cautious. While at the housing ministry, Dr. Shaheen, a deeply religious man with high principles, had demonstrated his adeptness handling contentious issues and had inspired the confidence and trust of the royal family. He demonstrated this same ability throughout the recov-

ery operation. Dr. Shaheen's calming manner, gentle appearance, and low-key management style belied the authority and responsibility he carried. He was pulled many different directions and felt a deep personal responsibility for the success of the recovery operation.⁴⁹

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Involvement

Along with the Kuwait Task Force, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers became more deeply entrenched in planning for the reconstruction. Some task force members were already very familiar with the Corps' unique capabilities, especially James Evans, Arthur Walz, and James P. Huber, who worked for the Corps as civilians. Kuwaiti leaders knew of the work the Corps had done for Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Defense and Aviation in the previous two decades and the Corps' extensive experience responding to natural disasters. Dr. Shaheen and his advisors correctly assumed that the Corps could apply its disaster response expertise as successfully in Kuwait.

In addition, the Corps had been constructing facilities in Kuwait long before the Iraqi invasion. Corps involvement in Kuwait actually dated back to the end of World War II when three Corps employees arrived to supervise contracts for the assembly of prefabricated barges used to carry war materials up the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. During the late 1970s and early 1980s Corps personnel evaluated several buildings used by the American International School in Kuwait.

In the early 1980s, the Corps' Middle East Division worked with Kuwait's Air Force to house a Hawk missile system that it had purchased from the United States. The division established a small resident office in Kuwait headed by Ceasar Santucci. Meanwhile, the Kuwaitis hired an American firm to expand their computer system as a database management system for their personnel records, logistics, and other items. They asked the Corps to review the proposed design. The Corps modified the contract and opened it to competitive bidding, saving Kuwait an estimated \$500,000. Over the next six years, the small Corps office in Kuwait became involved in munitions storage and helped design and develop a flight simulator and training center at Ahmed Al-Jaber Air Base.⁵⁰ At the time of the invasion, the Corps' Middle East/Africa Projects Office abandoned two main projects in Kuwait: the construction of the nearly complete training center and the construction of a half complete maintenance shop for Hawk anti-aircraft missiles.

On 12 December, Corps members met informally with representatives from the Kuwait Task Force and the Kuwait Emergency Recovery

Program to provide an overview of the Corps' emergency response to catastrophic disasters and its application to the restoration of Kuwait. For the next few weeks, the Corps took little action. The Kuwaitis were considering hiring a private firm to act as the contract manager, and Corps officials did not want to interfere. The Corps traditionally avoids putting itself in the position of competing with a private firm.

At the request of the Kuwaitis, on 3 January the Corps provided an informal briefing on its ability to provide emergency and long-term recovery assistance, particularly the capabilities of its Middle East/Africa Projects Office, located in Winchester, Virginia, 80 miles west of Washington. This office was a successor organization to a long line of Corps elements that had worked for decades in the Middle East. Recognizing the importance of the mission, the Chief of Engineers, Lt. Gen. Henry J. Hatch, personally briefed Dr. Shaheen. The director of military programs, Maj. Gen. James W. Ray, and the commander of the South Atlantic Division, Maj. Gen. John Sobke, also attended. The Kuwaiti government was represented by its director of public works and members of his staff.

At the 3 January meeting, Dr. Shaheen indicated that he wanted the Corps immediately to begin providing reimbursable technical assistance and design and construction management services in accordance with the agreement in the 15 December letter from Secretary Baker to the Kuwaiti Ambassador. The Kuwaitis promised to give the Corps their specific requirements the following day.⁵¹

The next day, Dr. Shaheen formally requested that the Corps provide assistance in the following areas: the Ministry of Public Works—roads and bridges, sanitary collection, pumps and treatment, all public buildings, ports (civil aspects), and airports (civilian airport)—and the Ministry of Electricity and Water—water desalination and distribution (ground water), power distribution and generation, and National Guard facilities repairs. Dr. Shaheen asked General Ray to propose a draft agreement.⁵²

By now U.S. military officials and the Kuwaitis recognized that the effort would be primarily construction, not civil affairs. Dr. Shaheen requested another meeting on 7 January to discuss the details of the Kuwaiti requirements and the nature of the Corps' emergency assistance. He also wanted to discuss the development of an agreement between the United States and Kuwait on emergency assistance and related matters that would govern the Corps' activities.

On 7 January, the Corps forwarded its response to the Kuwaiti government's request to the steering group committee for approval. The same day, at a meeting in the Kuwaiti's K Street office, General Sobke and Richard Wiles from the Middle East/Africa Projects Office described the

Corps' past experience in Hurricane Hugo (September 1989), the Loma Prieta earthquake (October 1989), and Operation JUST CAUSE (December 1989) and its current involvement in Operation DESERT SHIELD. They then presented a proposal for how the Corps would organize, prepare for, and execute the recovery work. They outlined the terms of a proposed letter of agreement.⁵³

The Kuwaiti representatives realized that the Corps had more experience in recovery and response work than any of the private companies that they had been considering for project manager. They became convinced that the Corps had a level of expertise in emergency response not available elsewhere and was the only agency that could respond immediately. Working with a private firm, they had discovered, would require two to three months of planning and paperwork. Also, as a federal agency, the Corps would be bound by federal requirements and have greater legitimacy. The Kuwaiti government would not have to pay the Corps any profit margin. Moreover, Kuwaiti government agencies would have the security of working with a U.S. government agency.⁵⁴

After meeting with Dr. Shaheen, General Sobke asked Ceasar Santucci and Wayne Henry from the Middle East/Africa Projects Office to draft a scope of work. Since they did not know the extent of the damage, their estimates were very rough. One great advantage was that Santucci knew some of the Kuwaiti representatives personally and understood how the ministries functioned. He was very familiar with the infrastructure of Kuwait City. Santucci and other Corps members talked with the Kuwaitis at length over the next few weeks. The Corps enlisted some of its most experienced emergency managers to work on the project.⁵⁵

The Kuwaitis decided to work with the Army Corps of Engineers not only because of the Corps' unparalleled emergency response experience and capability but also because the Corps planned to incorporate Kuwaiti volunteers in its effort. At the suggestion of Dr. Shaheen, Bader Al-Qabandi, and other Kuwaiti officials, the Corps agreed to integrate Kuwaiti nationals into its organization. The Kuwaitis wanted their engineers to learn about and contribute to the reconstruction process by working alongside the Corps' engineers. Incorporating local nationals was very important, Dr. Shaheen later observed, because it allowed them to feel that they were contributing to their country. It also forged strong personal relationships between the Americans and the Kuwaitis. The Kuwaiti volunteers received invaluable firsthand experience and training.⁵⁶

On 20 November, the Army Staff directed the Chief of Engineers to serve as the subject matter expert and lead agent for dealing with the Kuwaiti representatives on all public works and utilities issues. The Army Staff also directed that working groups established for function-

al areas report their findings and recommendations to the steering group committee for interagency coordination, validation, and approval. Hatch now informed the 352d Civil Affairs Command that the Kuwaiti government had requested the Corps' help in planning and initiating emergency and long-term recovery efforts related to public works and utilities. The Kuwaitis, he reported, were requesting reimbursable planning and technical assistance and design and construction management services.

Hatch explained that the Kuwaiti government's priorities were to determine the condition of the water system and the quality of the water itself, evaluate the condition of the electrical distribution system, and provide for temporary electrical supply needs. The quickest and best way to obtain funding was to use foreign military sales procedures. Hatch enclosed a proposed foreign military sales agreement and a letter of offer and acceptance for the steering group committee's approval. The 352d, in turn, informed the steering group committee about the Kuwaiti request.⁵⁷

On 8 January the steering group committee approved the Corps' proposal. The next day, the Defense Security Assistance Agency approved the \$46.35 million foreign military sales case (\$45 million plus \$1.35 million as a 3 percent surcharge for the Defense Security Assistance Agency to cover administrative expenses). Kuwaiti officials signed the agreement on 14 January and quickly transferred a \$20 million acceptance payment to the U.S. Treasury.

Meanwhile, General Hatch directed Col. Ralph V. Locurcio, commander of the Corps' Savannah District, to establish an area office in Kuwait to oversee public works restoration. Locurcio's energetic and even-handed leadership would contribute greatly to the success of the operation. Locurcio traveled to the Middle East/Africa Projects Office headquarters on 13 January. On 16 January he met for the first time with the Kuwaiti representatives in Washington. At the meeting, representatives from the Corps, the 352d Civil Affairs Command, and the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program began developing a detailed scope of work. As he hurried back to Winchester later that day, Locurcio heard on the car radio that the air war against Iraq had begun.⁵⁸

Representatives from the Corps, the Kuwait Task Force, and the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program began developing a detailed scope of work. On 19 January, Locurcio met with Fatima Al-Sabah and Kuwait's Minister of Electricity and Water to discuss various contracting options. They agreed with Hatch's plan to expedite the recovery effort by initially awarding letter contracts to prequalified contractors. Later contracts would be opened to competition.⁵⁹ A few days later, General Ray

met with Dr. Shaheen to clarify the contracting procedures that the Corps planned to follow.

Meanwhile, Hatch sent out a call for volunteers to go to Kuwait, specifically to perform damage surveys and assessments, contracting, and other services. The response was tremendous. Over 2,000 Corps members, mostly civilians, volunteered.⁶⁰

While the volunteer effort was being organized, Corps leaders made key decisions about mobilizing for the operation. They had decided to draw on personnel throughout the Corps who had emergency experience. The Corps did not have a ready-made district office it could deploy. Locurcio decided to create a structure similar to a Corps district office so these volunteers could quickly orient themselves and to move an advance party into Saudi Arabia as quickly as possible. The advance party was particularly important because the Corps would find it nearly impossible to transport items purchased in the United States into a war theater. The advance team would be able to buy these items locally and obtain logistics support.⁶¹ An eight-person advance team left for Saudi Arabia on 28 January.

As Corps leaders launched their effort, they continued trying to involve other federal agencies in the reconstruction process. As early as late October, Col. Thomas J. Sheehy, from the Assistant Chief of Engineers' office, had recommended that "the full Federal emergency response apparatus should be used as a starting point for organizing this effort." Based on the likely requirements, he added, the U.S. response would involve various government agencies as well as the private sector. Sheehy recommended that Pentagon officials consider using the Federal Emergency Management Agency model for responding to natural disasters in the United States and that the State Department coordinate the entire effort.

Corps officials questioned whether the 352d Civil Affairs Command could provide the necessary coordination. Hatch, a man of perception and insight, expressed concern to the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Lt. Gen. Dennis J. Reimer, that the Corps' emergency assistance activities be an "integral part" of a broader war-to-peace transition in the region. "I believe that such a transition to peacetime support will set the tone for regional stability into the next century," Hatch explained. Although a steering committee had been created, Hatch did not believe the current doctrines and plans dealt with this situation. The State Department and the Defense Department had not yet adequately coordinated the execution of the war-to-peace transition. The theater commander's hand-off to the U.S. Ambassador, Hatch noted, should not mark the end of the Defense Department's involvement. The Defense Department had to establish the necessary mechanisms to provide these nation assistance capabilities, ini-

tially in support of the theater commander and later for the Ambassador to support recovery and reconstruction.

No single department or agency controlled all the capabilities and resources that might be needed in the recovery and postwar period, he continued. Hatch recommended that an interagency group linked to the National Security Council policy group be established to coordinate and implement the operation. He also recommended an executive order or national security decision memorandum directing and clarifying U.S. government assistance in Kuwaiti civil restoration and the relations between the Defense Department and the State Department. As much planning should go into coordinating and executing the recovery as went into fighting the war, he insisted. The Defense Department, and particularly the Army, had much to lose if efforts at managing the peace failed. "Our government's actions," Hatch warned, "will be judged in the years ahead more on how we promoted the conditions for lasting peace than how we waged the war." In closing, he urged Defense Department officials to ensure a successful transition from war to reconstruction by having the theater commander execute the initial civil affairs actions and then support the State Department after the transition.⁶²

Kuwaiti and Kuwait Task Force Deployment to Saudi Arabia

As planning progressed, Kuwaiti officials decided to move most of the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Program members from Washington to eastern Saudi Arabia where they could prepare for their return to Kuwait. The members would go home with their government and become the focus of emergency operations.

In early January, Secretary Baker had lengthy discussions with senior Kuwaiti officials about restoring civil services. After a Kuwaiti cabinet session on 12 January, which endorsed the civil affairs efforts, Deputy Prime Minister Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah formally requested that Ambassador Gnehm ask the U.S. government to permit the Kuwait Task Force to continue working with the Kuwaitis to complete their planning and procurement. He also asked that the task force be allowed to deploy immediately with the Kuwaiti team—first into Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province and then into Kuwait, where they could continue to provide guidance and act as a link between the Kuwaiti team and the U.S. military. "The close association of team members," Gnehm explained, "has built confidence and relationships that can now be invaluable used during the crisis." Close cooperation between the two teams, Gnehm argued, was "absolutely essential" to ensure that the

Kuwaiti government could provide critical services to the civilian population and thus relieve the U.S. military from these tasks. The primary goal of the United States was to restore the legitimate government of Kuwait quickly and effectively, the Ambassador added. The Kuwaiti government had to provide basic services to its population quickly to demonstrate its legitimacy and to relieve U.S. troops of this requirement. Gnehm indicated that he needed the experience and expertise of the civil affairs unit to help him monitor and guide the Kuwaiti government during the crisis period. Secretary Baker, who recognized the need for continued close coordination in reconstruction planning, concurred with the Kuwaiti request.⁶³

The Kuwaitis invited the reservists to travel with them from Washington in their chartered aircraft on 16 January. State Department officials asked the Director of the Joint Staff to secure the appropriate orders. General Powell supported Ambassador Gnehm's plan to have the reservists work closely with the Kuwaiti government, Ambassador Gnehm, and General Schwarzkopf. Both Powell and Gnehm believed that the civil affairs team would be the appropriate mechanism for involving other federal agencies.⁶⁴ Although senior State Department and Defense Department officials favored accepting the Kuwaiti offer to fly the Kuwait Task Force to Saudi Arabia, the Army Staff insisted that the reservists fly on military aircraft. The Army Staff was perhaps anxious to reaffirm its control over the task force. Liability and policy issues were also involved. As U.S. soldiers, the task force members were required to be processed at a designated mobilization station and deploy in government aircraft. Also, as Mooney explained to Gnehm, the military could not accept gifts over a certain dollar amount, and the flight could be considered a "gift."

On 26 January, 48 of the original task force members climbed aboard a military aircraft at Dover Air Force Base in Delaware and headed for Saudi Arabia. Four members remained in Washington a few days longer to continue working with the Kuwaitis. Despite the uproar, the separate travel arrangements had no impact on the task force's mission.⁶⁵

Upon their arrival, the Kuwait Task Force members rejoined their Kuwaiti counterparts in Dammam, Saudi Arabia, just outside Dhahran. The Kuwaitis invited the reservists to join them at the Oberoi Hotel, but the hotel did not provide adequate security, so the reservists set up operations at the huge Khobar Towers housing complex in Dammam. But the facility had no telephones, work space, furniture, or transportation and was off-limits to Arabs, which would hinder coordination with their Kuwaiti partners. The Kuwaitis lobbied hard to get the reservists out of that facility. When that failed, they paid the Saudis to provide addition-

al security at the Oberoi Hotel. They even offered to acquire a facility behind the hotel where another Army unit was housed to keep all sensitive information and computers. After four days at the Khobar Towers, the task force members moved to the Oberoi Hotel.⁶⁶

By the time the Kuwait Task Force deployed to Saudi Arabia, the roles of the State Department and the Defense Department had become better defined, and Pentagon officials had reluctantly agreed to assume major responsibility for assisting the government of Kuwait. The early planning and contracting efforts of the Kuwait Task Force proved to be very valuable, though the lack of early coordination between the task force and both ARCENT and CENTCOM would create problems once the task force arrived in theater.